

Message Text

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 05264 071945Z

65

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 CU-02 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01

SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05 ACDA-05

BIB-01 INRE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 EURE-00 USIE-00 NEA-10

AF-06 /096 W

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FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4379

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMMBASSY BONN 4727

SECDEF WASHDC

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION MBFR VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 5264

EO 11652: GDS

TUGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG, PARM

SUBJECT: CSCE; CMB'S TURKISH EXCEPTION CASE

FOR EUR/RPM

REF: GENEVA 5077

1. IN CONVERSATION WITH TURKISH AMBASSADOR BENLER ON
JULY 5 WE AGAIN WENT OVER GROUND OF REASONS FOR SOVIET
AND TURKISH EXCEPTIONS TO MANEUVERS CBM. WE GAVE VIEW THAT
LARGE PORTION OF SOVIET TERRITORY WAS BY GENERAL CONSENT
BEING EXCEPTED FROM MANEUVERS CBM TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT FACT
THAT USSR IS RECOGNIZED SUPERPOWER, AND US BY COMPARISON
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 05264 071945Z

WILL NOT BE OBLIGED TO IMPLEMENT MEASURES ON ANY PORTION

OF ITS TERRITORY. WE SAID THAT TURKEY ALSO HAS A JUSTIFIABLE CLAIM TO AN EXCEPTION FROM MANEUVER CBM ON PART OF ITS TERRITORY, BUT ON ENTIRELY DIFFERENT GROUNDS. IN TURKEY'S CASE, BASIS FOR EXCEPTION IF THAT TURKEY HAS BORDERS WITH NON-PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES.

2. IN LIGHT OF ABOVE, WE SAID THAT IT APPEARED THAT NO COUNTRY AT CSCE WOULD HAVE ANY DIFFICULTY SUPPORTING AN EXCEPTION FOR TURKISH TERRITORY CLOSE TO FRONTIERS OF SYRIA, IRAQ AND IRAN. HOWEVER, OTHER CSCE PARTICIPANTS INCLUDING MOST IF NOT ALL ALLIES, IN PARTICULAR GREECE, COULD NOT SEE ANY EQUITABLE JUSTIFICATION FOR TURKEY TO HAVE AN EXCEPTION OF THE BULK OF CENTRAL ANATOLIA, WHEN OTHER NATO ALLIES AND ALL OTHER EUROPEAN PARTICIPANTS WILL BE APPLYING COM'S ON ALL OF THEIR OWN TERRITORY.

3. BENLER ARGUED THAT TURKISH POSITION IS UNIQUE BECAUSE OF ITS LONG BLACK SEA AND CAUCASUS FRONTIERS OPPOSITE SOVIET UNION. MOREOVER, CENTRAL ANATOLIA WAS A "SACROSANCT" AREA IN WHICH TURKS HAD NO WISH TO ESTABLISH PRECEDENTS FOR ARMS CONTROL MEASURES. BENLER ALSO MAINTAINED THAT TURKS WERE ALREADY MAKING ONE "SACRIFICE" IN ACCEPTING THRESHOLD AT 25,000 TROOPS, BECAUSE SOVIETS COULD BE EXPECTED TO HOLD MANUVERS IN CAUCASUS WITH MORE THAN 25,000 TROOPS, AND WOULD PRESUMABLY ANNOUNCE THEM. IN CONSEQUENCE, IN ORDER TO DEMONSTRATE ITS DEFENSE CAPABILITY PUBLICLY, TURKEY WOULD ALSO HAVE TO HOLD AND ANNOUNCE MANEUVERS ABOVE 25,000 MEN. WE SAID WE COULD NOT UNDERSTAND WHY TURKEY WOULD WANT TO EXCEPT CENTRAL ANATOLIA FROM APPLICATION OF CBM'S IF AMBASSADOR BENLER BELIEVED IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO ANNOUNCE LARGE MANEUVERS.

4. BENLER NOTED THAT SEVERAL CBM SUBCOMMITTEE MEMBERS INCLUDING YUGOSLAV AND SPANISH REPS, HAD SUGGESTED THAT SOME WAY BE FOUND TO AVOID MENTIONING TURKEY BY NAME. WE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THIS WAS TRUE, BUT POINTED OUT THAT PARTICIPANTS IN CONFERENCE WERE IN FACT MORE CONCERNED ABOUT SUBSTANCE OF TURKISH INSISTENCE ON SPECIAL CBM ZONES IN TURKEY. TO SOLVE EASIEST
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PAGE 03 GENEVA 05264 071945Z

PROBLEM FIRST, HOWEVER, WE SUGGESTED THAT TURKS CONSIDER FOLLOWING INTRODUCTION TO AN ALTERNATIVE VERSION FOR TURKISH EXCEPTION CLAUSE:

"IN THE CASE OF PARTICIPATING STATES IN EUROPE HAVING FRONTIERS WITH NON-PARTICIPATING STATES,..."
BENLER AGREED TO REFLECT ON THIS POSSIBILITY, BUT INSISTED THAT END OF SENTENCE WOULD HAVE TO CONTAIN SUBSTANCE OF

CURRENT TURKISH POSITION.

5. COMMENT: IN FACT, AN EXCEPTION CLAUSE BEGINNING IN ABOVE FASHION WOULD APPLY NOT ONLY TO TURKEY AND USSR, BUT ALSO TO GREECE AND YUGOSLAVIA (WHO HAVE FRONTIERS WITH ALBANIA AND CONCEIVABLY TO SPAIN (IN AFRICA). NONE OF LATTER COUNTRIES WANTS SPECIAL ZONES. IN OUR VIEW, SENTENCE BEGINNING AS ABOVE COULD ONLY REASONABLY END SOMETHING ALONG LINES OF EARLIER UK PROPOSAL "...NOTIFICATION NEED NOT BE GIVEN CLOSE TO THOSE FRONTIERS." WE WILL CONTINUE TO WORK WITH TURKS HERE TOWARD FORMULATION ALONG THESE LINES, ON BASIS OF DEPARTMENT'S PREFERENCE IN STATE 147520 (PARA 10).

6. HOWEVER, OUR WORK HERE WILL HAVE LITTLE EFFECT UNTIL AND UNLESS TURKISH INSTRUCTIONS CAN BE SOFTENED AS RESULT OF HIGH-LEVEL APPROACHES IN BONN AND ANKARA PRIOR TO JULY 9 TURKISH CABINET MEETING. DALE

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